

FIVE CENTS

On the second of November I received a pamphlet from Mr. Robert Graham of this city, which gave in the most compact and admirable form, a statistical statement which may be summarized as follows: Of the liquor stores in New York city, 4,710 are subject to mortgages on their bar fixtures, which mortgages aggregate a value about \$5,000,000, of which about one hundred stores hold the great brewing firm of Bernheimer & Schmidt holds over 600 of such mortgages to cover the payment of some \$300,000, while another brewer, Mr. George Ehret, holds over 200 of such mortgages to secure the payment of nearly half a million dollars. Transferring these mortgages to political parties, we find that Bernheimer & Schmidt, as virtual owners, because they really are, of 600 centers for the distribution of liquor, control 50 centers of political activity; that Mr. George Ehret controls 200 such centers; and at the head of men who own five mil-

ions of money invested in such bar fixtures control 4,710 such centers. If this handful of men agree upon a given policy they can at once convert these 4,710 places in the city of New York into very high places of political agitation, controlling and directing the most corrupt, the most degrading and the most ignorant portion of our community; massing them into companies and driving them to the polls like cattle. To this, however, requires the expenditure of money, and is predicated upon the existence of election machinery which supplies no proper check to bribery.

#### PLenty of MONEY TO BE HAD.

In such a case as that of the liquor dealer, the raising of money is not difficult. During the past election there was a meeting of the brewers, at which a committee was appointed, with power to levy an assessment upon all brewers of one cent per keg, or \$10 per thousand kegs, upon their last year's output. It was estimated that this sum, which was the result of but a slight and burdensome tax, would amount, to not less than \$80,000; and the money was to be used in attempting to carry two or three districts in New Jersey, so as to secure a repeal of the high license bill passed by the legislature in that state and to guarantee the election of Governor Hill to our own state. This was apart from the voluntary contribution of the brewers, and had no reference whatever to the amounts to be collected from the dispensers of distilled liquors.

The figures quoted from Mr. Graham show how vast and concentrated the interest is. The figures relative to brewers' assessments, show how easy it is to raise funds to secure the permanency and stability of those interests.

#### THOSE BLOCKS OF FIVE.

On the same day on which I received Mr. Graham's pamphlet I took up the New York Evening World. On the first page it contained a facsimile of the famous Dudley letter, in which General Dudley advises his correspondent to "divide the floaters into blocks of five, put a trusted man with necessary funds in charge of each of these five, and make him decide that no one gets away with that vote our ticket." Here is a new device for simplifying and organizing bribery. The suggestion to divide floaters into blocks of five and to put a trusted man with necessary funds in charge of each of those five, would go for nothing if the necessary funds were not first placed in the hands of the trusted men. But where are the necessary funds to come from? Where the interests of the liquor dealers are at stake, I have already shown you how the funds can be raised.

Where the interests of the monopolists are at stake, the funds are raised with equal facility. On the same page of the newspaper on which I found the facsimile of General Dudley's letter, and in an adjoining column, I found the following interview with Mr. Jay Gould: "Four years ago I was an enthusiastic Blaine man. I was called upon by three local republicans to stand and on the state platform that money would insure Blaine's election. I gave them \$50,000." Mr. Gould, it would appear, subscribed quite voluntarily in 1884, but "the fat" was not fried out of him in 1888, as proves to have been done to many of our manufacturers, if we consider the success of the remarkable appeal for money with which Mr. Foster has enriched our political literature.

#### THE BUSINESS OF POLITICS.

As the liquor dealers and the monopolists find little difficulty in raising money, both raising it to promote their interests, so the practical politician finds but little difficulty in raising money for a like purpose. As the liquor dealer organizes for his, so the professional politician organizes for his business. Politics is a business with him, and to quote another saying of the recent campaign, which will long stick in our memories: "He who knows anything at all, knows there is no politics in politics." The politician pre-eminently lives by his wits. He joins a hall, organizes a club or local committee, secures an office, tries in advance to pick out the winning party, runs a machine to demonstrate his political strength, and then waits patiently for the result. In combination with his friends, he makes nominations to office, solicits voluntary subscriptions, levies taxes upon office holders, and an assessment upon candidates, and raises funds sufficient to pay the expenses of his campaign, both legitimate and illegitimate. The legitimate expenses are the printing and distribution of the ballots and the campaign literature, and the conveying of poor, sick or infirm electors to the polls; everything else is forbidden. The renting of rooms for headquarters, the payment of money incident to the business of an election, the purchase of the attendance of voters at the polls, the courts hold the vote expressly prohibited, as is also payment for services in taking charge of rooms and running associations.

#### POLITICAL POWER IN THE HANDS OF POLITICAL CORPORATIONS.

Our machinery of elections is under the control of the officers of the law, with the single exception of the printing and distribution of the ballots. It is the ballot by means of which the will of the people is determined. The law has carefully guarded the other machinery of elections, but this most essential part of the whole machinery, to secure the proper casting of which, all the rest of the machinery exists, has been deliberately left to individual initiative. The result is that those who see fit to organize themselves into a party to make nominations for office, to levy assessments upon their candidates, or upon their official followers, and with the proceeds not only to pay for the printing of the ballots, but to hire men to distribute them at the polling places, are given the virtual monopoly of the political power. Like other monopolists, they find themselves divided into several corporations, which fight for the final monopoly. Those who win are monopolists in fact, enjoying the fruit of their work. Those who lose wait for the next opportunity for political power has passed out of the hands of the people into those of these political corporations.

#### WHY TAMMANY SURVIVES EVERY DEFEAT.

One of these corporations even holds a charter from the state, and under the guise of a charitable organization devotes its property and its influence to the single purpose of controlling the distribution of office. This we know as Tammany hall, which is only the political name of the corporation known as the Tammany society or Columbian order. This is why Tammany always survives defeat. If one of these corporations sees fit to ally itself with the interests of the monopolists, by naming some prominent railroad man, or some prominent manufacturer or banker, or to the liquor dealers, by expensing their cause, it not only finds it easy to raise funds for its campaign purposes, but its candidates having received nomination from a machine which can effectively man the polls and handle the vote, are willing to pay well for their whistle; the risk being, from a purely business point of view, a good one. When a party becomes so weak that such a risk is too great, it fails to secure candidates and goes out of existence by extinction or merger.

EIGHTY-SEVEN THOUSAND MEN AT FIVE DOLLARS EACH.

There are 856 polling places in the city of New York. There are 280,000 voters. Poli-

tical organizations have to supply ballots to these voters, both before and during the election, and to do so during the election, have to supply attendants at the polls. For each polling place the law supplies six officers as polling clerks, inspectors or canvassers, and from two to ten officers as deputy United States marshals. Each local organization supplies at least six workers at \$5 a piece. It is supposed to be impossible for any faction or party to run a ticket in New York city with any hope of success with less than \$50 per election district. I am confident that during the last election there was spent in each election district in the city by the three parties, nominally for the employment of workers at the polls, not less than \$500. And this sum has no reference to the vast amounts placed in the hands of individual electors, the open avowed purpose of buying votes—the contributions of national committees. The workers are employed at from \$2 to \$10 per day—\$5 per day is a fair and rather high average. The fund of \$500 being so divided, would supply \$5 to each 100 men engaged in a district. This, in the eight hundred and fifty odd districts, would give over 85,000 men employment. And, starting as the figure may be, I am confident that it is not placing too high when we say that the number of persons who received money for their alleged services or as bribers in the election during the recent campaign, leaving entirely out of consideration those who are under pay of the public as sworn officers of the state or nation. I have compared these figures with many practical politicians, and they all agree that they are conservative.

#### ONE WAY IN WHICH BRIBERY IS DISGUISED.

Those of you who live on Fifth avenue or on Murray hill will find it difficult to understand how it is that you go to the polls you see but three or four men distributing the ballots and observe that they are apparently respectable and orderly citizens. You, however, live in the more favored part of the city. If you were to go down to Paradise park or to Tompkins square, you would see a different state of affairs; but to see it you would have to go early in the morning. The men whom you see at your own polling place, when you go to a Tompkins square late in the afternoon, are the election district captains, who are responsible for the booths and who stay at the polls all day. It is to one of these men that you go to get your ticket. But you ask, what has become of the other "workers"? The answer is that they did their work early in the morning, received their pay, voted, and were then discharged for the day, the voting being their only business. This is the clever way in which bribery is disguised, where it is disguised at all; but there are parts of the city, as has been shown by the city reform club, and has been discovered by many others of us, where the open use of money may be seen at almost any hour from the opening to the closing of the polls.

#### WHERE THE EVIL LIES.

The monopoly of nominations and the availability of money in elections all work to the protection of interests opposed to the common good and spring out of causes which lie deeper than any election machinery, but are, nevertheless, given full and complete play because of the form of that machinery. So long as the state fails utterly to protect the ballot itself, to take it in its own charge, to print it and distribute it through sworn officers of the law, amendable to the penalties of the law, universal suffrage must continue to defeat the end for which it was granted by the Constitution. I have tried to describe the evil, and it is no pleasant task. In describing it I have hinted at the remedy. For what I hint, however, I have found it necessary to give but a partial description. I have said nothing of how the men who print and distribute the ballots can juggle with their own consciences and rebounce the trust which they hold from their party, selling out their candidates and making merchandise of their position. I have not described to you how it may be possible for these men, who are under no obligation to the law, to have ballots at the polling places, to quickly determine among themselves to destroy all their ballots on the day of election and thus leave the entire people practically without the essential instrument in the entire election machinery.

#### ONE IMPORTANT STEP ALREADY MADE.

It is instantly apparent to anyone who thinks at all and who has any knowledge of the facts that if there is any reason for compelling registration of voters by sworn officers of the law, there is an evidently greater reason for providing the voters with the means for recording their will. In the primitive New England and New York township every man knew his neighbor, elections were infrequent, the officers to be elected were few, the constituency was small and there was no need of registration. It was assumed that every man would readily find a piece of paper upon which he could write the name of his favorite. The election by ballot was a board of directors of a business corporation elects a president of the board. To apply this system to our complex modern society is as unreasonable as to attempt to lift one of the piers of Brooklyn bridge with a single block and fall, and I shall have occasion to consider it more fully as I proceed. This fact has been recognized in the necessity for registration, but has not yet been recognized in this country at least, as to the necessity for the official printing and distribution of the ballots. It is otherwise, however, in Australia and in England, and the law as applied there has remedied the very evils of which we complain.

#### THE REFORM PROPOSED.

If a given number of citizens had the right to certify their choice of a nominee to a public officer, the name of such choice to be printed on the ballot together with the names of all other nominees for the same office, whether of other spontaneous groups or of regularly organized parties, an end could be put to the monopoly now enjoyed by the machines in the making of valuable nominations. If the tickets were printed at public expense, the poor man in running for office would find himself at once in a position of equality with the rich. He would not only be able to pay the expenses of an election. If the tickets were distributed by sworn officers of the law, it would be impossible to juggle with them; it would be impossible for a party to be sold out and for trusts to be disregarded; it would be impracticable for fraudulent combinations to be made and the names of all candidates for the same office being printed on the same paper and distributed by the same officer, all candidates would be in a position of perfect equality so far as the machinery of election was concerned, down to the very moment when the ballot was deposited in the box. The tickets being so printed, would necessitate actual discrimination on the part of the voters. It would be no longer possible for men to receive a bunch outside of a polling place, and as I have repeatedly seen done, walk with the tickets in his hand until they had reached the ballot box, always accompanied with the men whose money they had taken, and thus supplying ocular evidence of the fact that they had made delivery of the thing for which they had taken pay. If the voter were compelled to retire and privately select the names of those on his ballot for whom he preferred to vote and all persons whatever were excluded from the booth

which gave him privacy, it would be impossible for anyone to determine how an elector had voted. Secrecy would not only become permissible, but compulsory, with the result that bribery would no longer be profitable. The man who takes a bribe is *prima facie* a scoundrel. No one who will bribe him unless he can tell how the man bribed him voted. Despoil the bribe giver and the bribe taker of the means of profit, and bribery at the polls will cease except among fools.

#### SUCH REFORMS WOULD CLEAR THE WAY FOR OTHER REFORMS.

When such a bill is passed by our legislature we shall have political equality so far as the machinery of the elections can give it to us. So long as the machinery is imperfect there might as well be no machinery at all. We shall for the first time be thoroughly prepared to discuss other questions, like that of the representation of the minority; we shall for the first time have in our power to compel the majority of half-literate and ignorant electors to vote in person, and we shall for the first time be able to express our will through our representatives and to pass legislation curbing the liquor power, regulating the system of taxation, controlling giant corporations and touching other issues of equal great importance, the consideration of which, by any legislature that has sat in Albany for years past, has been absolutely out of the question. The legislators will no longer be controlled by the railroads, by the trusts, by the bribers and by the bosses; or if so controlled the great people will at least always have sufficient representation to denounce the control and bring the public face to face with its danger. It is useless to talk of general legislative reform until we have secured the machinery whereby the will of the people can be honestly determined and not thwarted by the organization of fraud and corruption, which and themselves as virtual monopolies for the control of the legislature, we shall for the first time be able to express our will through our representatives and to pass legislation curbing the liquor power, regulating the system of taxation, controlling giant corporations and touching other issues of equal great importance, the consideration of which, by any legislature that has sat in Albany for years past, has been absolutely out of the question. 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Elmville, Conn.—John McAdiffe.  
 Utica, N. Y.—Thos MacSweeney, Elizabeth street.  
 Dunsmuir, Buckeye, Samuel, southwest corner First and  
 Catherine.  
 Vincennes, Ind.—Hon Samuel W Williams, rooms 2 and 3  
 No. 10.  
 Waco, Tex.—Frank Grady, lawyer, 163 south 4th street.  
 Washington, D. C.—Dr. William Briggs, 221 E street.  
 Waukegan, Ill.—John W. B. Smith, corner 1st and  
 Weatherford, Tex.—William M. Bell.  
 West New Brighton, Staten Island, N. Y.—A. B. Stoddard.  
 Weststone, Long Island, N. Y.—George Harwell.  
 White Plains, N. Y.—John W. B. Smith, corner 1st and  
 President street, tax licg.  
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 Worcester, Mass.—J. E. Page, Lake View.  
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## THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

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THE STANDARD is forwarded to subscribers by the early morning mails each Thursday. Subscribers who do not receive the paper promptly will confer a favor by communicating with the publisher.

THE STANDARD advocates the abolition of all taxes upon industry and the products of industry, and the taking by taxation upon land values irrespective of improvements, of the annual rental value of all those various forms of natural opportunities embraced under the general term, Land.

We hold that to tax labor or its products is to discourage industry.

We hold that to tax land values to their full amount will render it impossible for any man to exact from others a price for the privilege of using those bounties of nature in which all living men have an equal right of use; that it will compel every individual controlling natural opportunities to either utilize them by the employment of labor, or abandon them to others; that it will thus provide opportunities of work for all men and secure to each the full reward of his labor; and that as a result involuntary poverty will be abolished, and the greed, intemperance and vice that spring from poverty and the dread of poverty will be swept away.

The suit to annul the charter of the North river sugar refining company is now on trial. It is brought on the ground that by becoming a member of the sugar trust, which controls all but four of the sugar refineries of the country and regulates the supply and price of sugar, it has forfeited its corporate franchise. The defense is that it is not the company but its stockholders who have joined the trust, and that they have a right to do as they please with their stock. And over this nice point the wrangle goes on and nobody will be hurt very much no matter how the suit turns out. When members of trades unions combined to regulate the supply and price of labor, they were promptly indicted and put into the prisoners' dock; but when rich and respectable sugar refiners, who eat more sugar than they refine, combine to regulate the supply and price of sugar, they are invited into the civil courts, and the legal astuteness that readily discovered crime in trades unionism, is in doubt as to whether there is even civil wrong in trusts.

Protection to American industry has not yet begun to operate in Chicago, where a railroad strike over a question of wages took place last week. Nor in Kansas City where railroad employes have accepted a forced reduction of ten per cent in their wages. Nor yet in Indianapolis, where a brakemen's strike has just been put down and some of the striking brakemen locked up.

It is reported that President Cleveland, though he will urge tariff reduction in his next message, does not believe the issue will bring his party back into power in 1892, because he thinks the republican leaders are shrewd enough to discover the handwriting on the wall and to begin a gradual tariff reduction. That the republicans will try to do this, is now more than probable; but how can they succeed? In one way only can reduction of tariff revenues be accomplished consistently with the policy of protection; and that is by reform in the direction of prohibitory duties. This kind of reform will but make clearer the issue of free trade, and the overthrow of protection the more certain and speedy; while any other kind of reform is sure to excite to wrath the protectionists from whom, in the latter days of the campaign, "fat" for "floaters" was extracted. The submission to free trade of the English tories after their triumph in the forties, is not to be paralleled by our protectionists. The protected classes there were landlords whose interests were so uniform that it was not difficult for a shrewd tory minister to convince them of the importance of making a partial surrender before the agitation had gone so far as to compel a complete and unconditional surrender. But with us it is different. The truth that landlordism ultimately reaps any advantages of protection, is so obscured here by complex industrial relations and the intervention of trusts and other special monopolies that the interests of protection seem to be diversified. While that is so it is impossible for protectionists to make any agreement for partial surrender. Partial surrender here does not mean as it did in England the surrender by all who are protected of a percentage of their protection; it means the surrender of some protected classes for the benefit of others. And what class of protectionists are willing to be laid upon the altar? The only ones

we suspect are the working class and the agricultural class, and if they are willing it is because they are used to it. When the republican party begins to reform the tariff by cutting off the privileges of any of its pets it will find enough "fat" in the fire to make a pretty lively blaze.

The recent announcement by Sir George Trevelyan, that a feature of the Gladstone policy is to be taxation of ground rents, is such welcome news to us all that we will watch English politics almost as keenly as we watch our own.

"What's the use of talking about free land for workmen?" asked a Very Conservative Gentleman of a Single Tax Man. "They wouldn't improve it if they could get it. You wouldn't yourself. Listen to me. I'll give you a lot of land on the edge of a thriving town if you will put up a house on it and live there."

"And I decline your offer," said the Single Tax Man.

"Of course. I knew you would. Now, if it's land you want, why?"

"Because I do not want your charity. I want every one to have equal rights before the law, and that cannot be while some are allowed to monopolize the surface of the earth. But, if you please, I will waive my scruples about charity, and not only accept your offer, but guarantee to find ten thousand, aye, fifty thousand workmen to do the same, on one condition.

"Indeed, and what is the condition?"

"That we shall be exempt from taxation of every kind, direct and indirect, except on the value of the lots you give us."

Real estate exhibits "a general strengthening in values and firmness in tone," say the market reports. This is encouraging news to land owners, and no doubt it excites the interest of speculators; but what about the home buyer and the home renter? To him "a general strengthening in values" means harder work or poorer living, while "firmness in tone" along the rent line suggests anything but firmness in tone along the life line. What "a general strengthening in values and firmness in tone" means in the parlance of real estate exchanges may be inferred from the report of a sale last week of two lots containing 5,000 square feet for \$28,575, or \$5.77½ a square foot. Seven years ago these same lots, in precisely the same condition, brought \$11,500, or \$2.30 a square foot. In the short space of seven years, therefore, there has been such a strengthening in value and firmness in tone in the neighborhood of these lots that the price of permission to build upon them has more than doubled. If there were less firmness in the tone of the land market there would be less flabbiness in the tone of the labor market.

The supreme court of Illinois has interfered with a new scheme intended to give landlords, who already have nine-tenths of the law in their favor, the other tenth. In Chicago a form of lease which has been much in use, contains a clause appointing an attorney to appear for the tenant in any court and consent to judgment for unpaid rent. This lease, if valid, would enable landlords to enter judgment against tenants without really bringing the tenant into court or giving him a chance to be heard. And yet the decision of the supreme court, which held the clause to be void, was rendered by only a majority of the judges. Perhaps the difference of opinion is not to be wondered at, however, when it is remembered that though the seller of provisions for consumption is held to warrant their wholesomeness as food, the seller or renter of a house for a dwelling does not warrant that it is a wholesome dwelling. When landlords are lawgivers, landlords may marvel at the crookedness of the law but their marveling will not make it straight.

It is a good sign, this talk of a bargain between the republican party and certain democrats of the south to break the solid south. It means a division of parties in the southern states which will be better for the south and better for the whole country. The mere rumor has brought out in the editorial columns of the *Charleston News and Courier*, a democratic note with the ring of true metal, so unfamiliar in the southern press. Admitting that there are many men in the south who have been democrats from necessity instead of principle, and who may leave, it declares that "they who remain—they who believe in democratic principles as the only safeguard of republican institutions, will stand together more firmly than ever before." It is this the democratic party needs, north as well as south—the withdrawal of those of its members who are not democrats. As they go, not alone will they who remain stand together firmer than ever, but to them will come shoals of democrats who have never been and are not now of the democratic party—men to whom the party has been made repulsive by the undemocratic direction in which the enemies of democracy in its councils have guided it.

The democratic party has escaped a serious accident through what seemed at first a disaster. In losing the house of representatives it escaped the leadership in Congress of Samuel J. Randall, for if the house had been closely democratic it was the intention of the republicans to support Randall for speaker against Carlisle. Perhaps, however, though worse for the democratic party, it would have been better for the tariff issue, since such a contest for the speakership would have

broken party lines and drawn more sharply the issue of protection or free trade.

The Nonantum worsted company of Newton, Massachusetts, is walking on quicksand. In some way it pays this concern, or at least the managers of the concern think it pays it, to have the United States government, on pretense of raising revenues, tax all American citizens for the benefit of some American citizens. Hence, the soul of that corporation—assuming it to have a soul, which Blackstone says is impossible—revolts at the idea of a tariff for mere revenue, and in a special notice posted conspicuously in its mills it announces that "every voter that is employed by this company will be presented with a year's subscription to any daily newspaper that does and has advocated the cause of protection, which does not mean tariff for revenue but does mean American wages for American workmen." Now, this is a dangerous proposition. In the first place, a protection paper is the very worst thing for a man of logical mind to read, unless it is desired to make him a free trader; and it may be supposed that in the employ of this company will be at least one subscriber of logical mind. So much granted, there will not be a protectionist in that worsted mill when the first year's subscription to the protection paper runs out, for a single genuine free trader in the force of a factory is like a little yeast in a lump of dough. And even if there are no logicians in the Nonantum mill a protectionist paper will, nevertheless, be a source of danger, for stern experience may make them logicians. After reading for several months of the importance of a high tariff to make high wages, what are these people likely to think, even the most muddle-headed among them, when wages are reduced without any reduction in the tariff, or the tariff is raised without any increase of wages? Such things have happened and are likely to happen again. It is very dangerous, gentlemen of the worsted mill! Far better distribute Sunday school books that inculcate contentment here and promise joy hereafter.

The Tory government of England proposes to devote \$25,000,000 to the "forced" purchase of farms from landlords for tenants. This is as bad a piece of legislation as could be conceived. But, coming from a tory minister it is significant of the state of scare into which land monopolists have been driven. It sounds like the music of retreat.

The legislature of Vermont has by a large majority defeated a bill giving to women the right to vote in municipal elections. A variety of reasons for this are suggested by the press of the Green mountain state. One of them is that the Women's Christian temperance union by endorsing the prohibitionists proved to the republican solons of Vermont that women are as yet too profoundly ignorant of practical politics to be trusted with the suffrage! This sounds like what Artemus Ward used to call "suff-asm," but it is probable that some such idea influenced the result. To a certain order of politicians what could be more convincing evidence of woman's incapacity to vote than this effort of the Women's temperance union to have votes thrown away on a third party at a time when votes commanded such high prices?

Another and stranger reason was the opposition of women. This reason so generally accepted as conclusive, is, under our theory of government, no reason at all. If the democratic doctrine of "government by the governed," has any meaning, no woman can be justly denied an equal voice in public affairs even though all other women unite in renouncing. In a democracy, the ballot is a birthright, not a franchise. It may be arbitrarily taken away; but it can no more be conferred than can the right of personal liberty. When, therefore, any woman of sane mind and the generally accepted age of discretion, demands the right, she cannot be required to first obtain the approval of her sex. It can be done. It is done. But it is not democratic to do it. And it would never have been done had we not drifted into the monarchial notion, that the ballot is only a franchise which sovereigns may condescendingly confer upon subjects.

The *Sun* became responsible for a story that the mayor intended to appoint a young woman as a commissioner of education, but changed his mind because women are not so well suited as men for the work required. Two of the present commissioners, Miss Dodge and Mrs. Agnew, have, by their official course, proved in advance the falsity of this conclusion. At "whitewashing" they have been failures, but as commissioners they have deserved the commendation of a fellow member who said to the board: "If they all were as faithful and hard working as Miss Dodge and Mrs. Agnew have been, we couldn't have too many women commissioners. They have made altogether more calls at the schools than the men have, and their suggestions of improvements have been very valuable, and have been usually concurred in." It is only since the appointment of these two women that there has been any but official evidence of the existence of a board of education.

One of the absurd stories set afloat, apparently by parties who dread the oversight of energetic women commissioners, is to the effect that Miss Dodge and Mrs. Agnew are in favor of introducing uniforms in the Normal school. If they

were it might not be such a bad idea, for there is nothing essentially degrading in a uniform; but the sole basis for the story seems to have been a speech to the senior class, in which Mrs. Agnew said she trusted they all would wear "the uniform of true womanhood—purity, truth, earnestness—and that these characteristics would be shown in their dress as well as in other ways." Here's your thousand black cats in a pear tree which under cross examination dwindle to one white cat on a fence.

The single tax men of North Dakota are consoled for the election of Harrison by the expectation that their territory will be admitted as a state, and the hope that its constitution will introduce the single tax. They are already at work, and though they may not—indeed, cannot—be wholly successful, their agitation is certain to give, in a new quarter, a new impulse to the idea. In saying they cannot be wholly successful, we would imply, not that they cannot make the single tax a state institution, but that free trade is an attribute of free production, and that Dakota alone cannot establish free trade. But whether the single tax system is begun by the states and completed by the federal government, or the reverse, is immaterial. What is material is that it shall begin, and having begun, that it shall go on to completion. The probability is that it will be established as a tunnel is bored, beginning at each end and meeting in the middle.

The Chinese exclusion law seems likely to have one queer effect. It is easy to prevent the landing of Chinese at any of our seaports. But it is by no means easy to hinder them from crossing the boundary line from Canada. It may safely be assumed that such Chinamen may immigrate to the United States henceforth will come via the Dominion. And as Canada imposes a duty of \$50 on every Chinaman landing at her ports, the chief effect of our exclusion law will probably be to materially increase the revenues of our northern neighbor.

## GOVERNOR BLACK'S ADDRESS.

We print elsewhere some extracts from ex-Governor Black's address to the democratic societies of Pennsylvania that will interest the readers of THE STANDARD; but which are of vital importance to democratic partisans who are seriously anxious to see their party become the instrument for carrying on the work of tariff reduction. This address is the only utterance by any prominent democrat that recognizes the exact cause of Mr. Cleveland's defeat and points out the only possible road to future democratic success. Of course many circumstances contributed to the general result, but one stands out prominent over all others combined, and that is the failure to convince the voters in the agricultural districts that their own true interests would have been served by voting down tariff taxes. In the manufacturing centers Mr. Cleveland made important gains over his vote of four years ago, but in the agricultural districts the republican party made enormous gains.

It is easy to rail against the crass ignorance and stupidity of the farmers, who thus voted to perpetuate a system by which they are the chief sufferers, but railing will not bring them to see the folly of their course nor cause them to vote differently next time. The only way to win their votes is to convince them that the policy they have supported is an unwise one for the country and against their own interests, and this can only be done by extending the work of education and propaganda so well begun in the cities and towns. Probably the best agency for carrying on this work is the association of clubs over which Governor Black so ably presides.

But these clubs if made efficient may accomplish something more. Next to the almost unavoidable failure to educate in a single campaign a whole people to correct views of the tariff, the chief cause of Mr. Cleveland's defeat was the prevalence of machine management and boss rule in the democratic party. The nomination of Hill for governor in this state was definitely forced on the party by the machine, and it unquestionably did more than any other one thing to check the tide toward the democratic party that would otherwise have given Mr. Cleveland the electoral vote of New York. The revolt of thinking and honest democrats against the tyranny and corruption of two unscrupulous machines came near costing Mr. Cleveland the electoral votes of Maryland and West Virginia, and the deliberate treachery of the Sautsbury's henchmen in Delaware will result in the election of a protectionist United States senator from that democratic state.

If the democratic party is ever to win success as the exponent and advocate of principle it must get rid of the domination of these machines and dismiss the leaders who, even in the last campaign, sought to evade the great issue raised by the president's message. If this is to be accomplished, the mass of its members must be stirred to activity in its management and its enthusiastic young men must come to the front. As a device for accomplishing this essential change the league of democratic clubs may prove effective.

So far as our single tax free traders are concerned, this is a question that does not immediately concern them. The principles for which they stand are bound to go forward whether the democratic party prepares itself to be the fitting instrument for the work or goes to pieces

and makes way for a better party. That is its lookout, not ours. Nevertheless, the men within its ranks who are endeavoring to prepare it for the performance of the duty to which its traditions and the present situation call it, deserve our sympathy and respect. If they succeed a powerful political body can be utilized in forcing forward a great and necessary reform, while if they fail they will themselves be educated into a readiness to abandon a moribund and conscienceless organization and assist in organizing a living party imbued with nineteenth century ideas and ready to apply the principles of Jefferson to the problems of the present time.

## GETTING RICH BACKWARDS.

We find these figures in the columns of the *Press*:

In 1850 England sent to foreign countries wealth valued at \$830,000,000 and got back wealth valued at \$530,000,000. On January 1, 1851, she had, therefore, \$300,000,000 less wealth than on January 1, 1850. In 1886, however, she exported wealth to the amount of \$1,000,000,000, and got back wealth valued at \$1,743,000,000; net profit for the year, \$685,000,000.

In 1850 the United States sent away wealth valued at \$135,000,000 and received \$174,000,000 worth in return. We were, therefore, better off by \$39,000,000 at the end of the year than at the beginning. In 1886, however, we sent away \$666,000,000 worth and got back only \$635,000,000, showing a net loss of \$31,000,000 on our foreign trade for the year.

We offer no opinion as to the accuracy of these figures, but print them as the *Press* gives them. Whether they are right or wrong is a matter that troubles us very little. What amuses us is that the *Press* should quote them as an argument for protection! It puts above them this descriptive line: "Greater prosperity under protection than under free trade."

The *Press* evidently thinks that the less a man has the better he is off. When it justifies protection on that ground we really haven't a word to say.

## STRIKING THE KEYNOTE.

The Minneapolis *Evening Star* prints in its editorial columns the following form of a petition, with a suggestion that readers should sign and return it to the *Star* office:

Whereas, It is unjust that one man should be taxed more for making land useful and employing labor on it than another is taxed for holding land idle and keeping labor off it.

Therefore, We, the undersigned citizens of Minnesota, petition your honorable body to submit to the people of this state at their next regular election such amendments to the constitution as will permit the exemption of personal property and improvements on land from all taxation.

The remarks with which the *Star* accompanies this petition will bear reprinting:

To levy a tax upon buildings and improvements is virtually to place a line upon enterprise and industry. The man who holds vacant property in a growing locality escapes any adequate degree of taxation, does nothing to promote the welfare of the community, and profits from the industry and enterprise of his neighbors who make improvements and employ labor on it. Under the present system of taxation the drone is rewarded and the active, energetic worker is fined by having his taxes increased. Under such a system of taxation as is advocated in the above petition there would be a direct inducement for men to improve their land rather than to permit it to lie idle, or to lease it at reasonable figures to those who would improve it. Capitalists could see their way clear to put their money into buildings without incurring an additional tax that comes near eating up all the profits, and land monopolists could no longer afford to stand across the path of legitimate development by holding on to unimproved property in the heart of a great city. In the country farmers could in like manner invest their surplus accumulations in houses and barns and dairies and other improvements without incurring the onslaught of the assessor to raise his valuation.

The coming legislature will be asked to submit the above amendment to the popular vote by a list of petitioners so numerous that we don't believe they can resist the appeal.

It is seldom that we have seen the practical advantages of the single tax on land values stated with more simplicity and clearness than in these few sentences. The man must be indeed blinded by prejudice or self-interest who can read this terse argument and still fail to see how frightfully our present barbarous system of taxation oppresses and discourages industry; and how completely the proposed change would remedy the evil. The Minneapolis *Evening Star* is doing a good work, indeed. While other journals have been talking as though the issue of the late election had settled economic questions for another generation, it has made haste to strike the keynote of the greater campaign just opening, and it strikes it with the touch of a master.

## THE ELECTION IN IDAHO.

The story of the recent election in Idaho is one that every citizen should study.

There are a great many Mormons in Idaho. If they do not form a majority of the voters of the territory, they are at all events sufficiently numerous to give the non-Mormon political managers a great deal of uneasiness. Years ago it was felt that something must be done to prevent their getting control of the local government. And so a law was passed disfranchising them.

This law was a curiosity. It did not disfranchise the Mormons as Mormons. To have done that would have been to subject men to a penalty on account of their religion. Nor did it disfranchise them as polygamists. For the great majority of Mormons are, and must be, innocent of polygamy. The proportion of the sexes holds in Idaho as elsewhere; or

if there be any variation, it is in favor of the men. But assuming that the doctrine of polygamy was a necessary part of the Mormon creed, it provided that no man should be permitted to vote without first swearing that he was "not a member of any order, organization or association which teaches, advises, counsels or encourages its members, devotees or any other person to commit the crime of bigamy or polygamy, or any other crime defined by law, as a duty arising or resulting from membership in such order, organization or association; or which practices bigamy or polygamy, or plural or celestial marriage as a doctrinal right of such organization."

This extraordinary piece of legislation, by which men were assumed to be guilty of crime and punished unless they could establish their innocence, was upheld as constitutional by the supreme court of Idaho in a decision rendered about two years since. It was considered an efficient safeguard against the exercise by any Mormon of the fundamental right of an American citizen. And until the present election, it perfectly fulfilled the purpose of its passage.

But just as more distinctively Christian churches have reconsidered their teachings with regard to chattel slavery, and now condemn as impious a doctrine which but a generation ago they justified by arguments drawn from the bible, so the Mormon church has seen a new light on the subject of polygamy; and, if it does not absolutely condemn the doctrine, at all events has ceased to teach it. And so it came to pass that when the registry lists were being prepared for the late election, citizens of the Mormon faith presented themselves before the registrars and announced their readiness to take the required oath.

Then ensued a strange confusion. Some registrars, recognizing the fact that their functions were purely executive, administered the oaths and registered the names. Others assumed to act as legislators, and having passed, *in petto*, a statute denying the suffrage to Mormon citizens under all circumstances, calmly refused to allow the oaths to be taken. And still a third set, after entering the names, had the Mormon citizens arrested on the charge of perjury.

The matter was brought before the territorial courts by the application of H. D. Woolley of Bear Lake county for a mandamus to compel the registrar of his district to enter his name upon the list of voters. There was no dispute as to Woolley's willingness to take the oath required by law. But the question to which Judge Berry addressed himself, was not whether Woolley was willing to comply with the law or not, but whether, in taking the required oath, Woolley would or would not be swearing to the truth; in other words, whether the Mormon church had or had not sufficiently repudiated the doctrine of polygamy. It was shown that the church had not for two years past taught or encouraged the practice of polygamy, and that a plural marriage had never at any time been celebrated in Idaho. But this failed to satisfy Judge Berry. He felt sure the Mormon church was humbugging. And so he decided that Woolley must lose his vote. The result was that throughout the territory Mormon citizens were refused the privilege of registration.

And yet some Mormons managed to get in their votes, and curiously enough they got them in by permission of this same Judge Berry. What they did was to swear that they were no longer Mormons—to repudiate their church and deny their religion. One of these apostates was arrested after registering, and declared before Judge Berry that he had withdrawn from the church "of his own accord, because he wanted to help elect a delegate from congress." The judge accepted the explanation and discharged the prisoner. Since the election numerous warrants have been issued for the arrest of these seceding Mormons on the charge of perjury.

The whole story is a disgrace to American civilization. And it is a story that carries with it a lesson that American citizens would do well to heed. If we begin by depriving men of the suffrage in Idaho, not because of anything they have done, but because of opinions they are supposed to hold, and this even in the face of their solemn repudiation of those opinions—if we begin by doing this in Idaho, we may end by doing the same thing in New York. Why not? Already there are not a few who do not hesitate to say that certain aliens should be refused naturalization for opinion's sake. From this to the denial of the suffrage, because of those same opinions, would be but a step. And in these days events move quickly.

T. L. MCCREADY.

## A Clear Gain for Ballot Reform Made by Single Tax Men.

ROCHESTER, N. Y., Nov. 14.—With great satisfaction I announce that the United labor club has defeated the Hon. P. A. Sullivan (dem.), who voted against the Saxton electoral reform bill in the legislature. We supported him last year because he pledged himself to vote for the bill. He was elected by 250 plurality. We have now elected Joseph Bauer by 1,200 plurality. He is the president of the United labor club of this city, and an earnest worker for ballot reform. The single tax and ballot reform are gaining friends slowly but surely.

There were four ballots cast for Cowdrey in Monroe county. The balance of our vote of 1887 was about equally divided between the two parties.

All believers in the single tax in Rochester and vicinity are earnestly requested to send in names and addresses at once. The object is to establish a working bureau, to arrange for speakers during the winter, and to distribute single tax literature. All single tax men should enroll, even if they do not wish to take an active part. CHAS. A. MERRILL.

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## MEN AND THINGS.

St. Luke's church, on Hudson street, is one of the old landmarks of New York. It was built in the early part of the century, when the city was miles away from Greenwich and a country village to which New Yorkers fled to escape the risk of yellow fever. For nearly seventy years the church has held possession of a considerable piece of land, which, when St. Luke's was founded, had scarcely any appreciable value. During that time the city has grown from a town to a metropolis. Vast public improvements have been made. Streets have been laid out, graded and paved. Surface and elevated railways have come into being. The land around the church has been covered with houses. Toward none of these improvements, save by the building of one or two dwelling houses, has the church contributed. It has paid no taxes. It has added absolutely nothing to the common stock of wealth.

And now St. Luke's is going to move. Though it stands in the midst of a dense population, its worshippers are leaving it. Its old-time members have moved away, and the new residents somehow are not moved to patronize St. Luke's. So the church will follow the congregation, and has secured an ample piece of ground on 11st street, and the old graves around the building on Hudson street are being opened, and the dead and gone New Yorkers who have rested there tranquilly for two generations past, are being carried off. For St. Luke's is going to sell the land, or lease it, or erect buildings on it, and lease them, or in some way turn into solid cash, for its own benefit, the value which it has done absolutely nothing to create, but which has been brought into being by the pressure of population and the march of public improvement.

We Americans are fond of boasting that we have no state church. We point to the fact that in England dissenters are forced to pay taxes for the support of an ecclesiastical organization for which they have no use nor liking; and we boast ourselves that in this country such injustices are not perpetrated. But the English title is simply a tax upon the privilege of occupying land. And when we consider that residents of Hudson street, who have so little use for St. Luke's church that the church actually has to move away from them, are going to be taxed, in the way of ground rents or purchase money, for the support of a new St. Luke's to be situated miles away from them—when we consider all this, why really it seems as though we may not be so very far from having an established church of our own after all.

At an auction sale of stocks and bonds belonging to the late Joshua Jones of this city, 354 shares in the Pennsylvania coal company of a par value of \$50, sold for \$291 each; and 100 shares in the Singer manufacturing company, par value \$100, were disposed of at \$301 each. Once in a while the veil is lifted from some of our great protected monopolies, and we get an idea of what we really have done for them in taxing ourselves for their benefit.

According to the report of the bureau of statistics at Washington, the value of the exports of domestic breadstuffs from the United States during the month of October, 1888, was \$10,855,578 against \$8,623,314 in October, 1887. During the four months ended October 31, 1888, it was \$43,257,333, against \$33,597,109 during the corresponding four months of 1887; and during the first ten months of 1888 the total value of breadstuffs exported was \$242,912,831, against \$138,515,938 for the same period of last year.

It is not hard to read the lesson of these figures. With a superabundance of land unsurpassed in fertility, with a constantly improving system of transportation from the interior to the seaboard and from the seaboard to the food purchasing countries of Europe, and with a constant influx of immigrants specially adapted for agricultural pursuits, we are steadily falling back from the foremost position among the food producing countries of the world; and if we have not already dropped to second place we are certain to do so within a year or two. For as we recede Russia and India are advancing.

Any farmer who keeps accounts and will take the trouble to do a little figuring can easily discover how this has come about. He will find that for whatever breadstuffs he has had to sell he has received a less price than English farmers have secured for the same kind of product. The price of his wheat and corn is fixed in the English market, and out of that price is deducted the cost of transportation across the Atlantic, together with the necessary brokerages, etc. But for everything he buys with the money received for his breadstuffs he has to pay on the average fully twice what the English farmer is charged for the same articles. A dollar in his hands has only half the purchasing power it has in the hands of his British competitor; and yet that competitor gets more dollars for the same quantity of breadstuffs. Is it any wonder that American agriculture is being discouraged, or that in spite of our fertile prairies, our marvelous railway system, and the increasing efficiency of our labor by the use of machinery, Russia and India are surely and rapidly driving us out of the world's markets?

Let the farmer study his accounts and see how handsomely his farm would have paid him could he have got his clothing, his dress goods, his boots and shoes, his plows and harrows, and all the other manufactured articles he had to buy, at half price. Then he will appreciate what protection has done for him.

The week brings its usual marine tragedy. This time it is the English steamer Black Watch, foundered in the Mediterranean with the loss of all hands—in all probability forty to fifty men. That is, all hands are supposed to be lost—the newspaper reporters are not quite sure about it.

Suppose it were a wrecked railway train instead of a wrecked ship, or a mine that had exploded, or a factory that had burned down—and there were a doubt

whether fifty lives were lost or not? The world would insist on knowing something more about the matter; the newspaper reporters would run races to secure the fullest details of the tragedy, and find out just who was responsible. But there is no fuss like that over the sailors of the Black Watch. If they have the good luck to be saved, after all, a brief newspaper paragraph will announce the fact—perhaps. But if they are really all drowned, nothing more will ever be said about them. Except, of course, in their families—their names will be mentioned there, occasionally, in accents more or less despairing.

And yet human carelessness is responsible for whatever evil has befallen those men. Their lives have been a flung away that somebody might save a little money. And society stands by, saying nothing, doing nothing, caring nothing, and justifying itself with the blasphemous notion that God kills sailors or saves them according as he happens to feel in a good humor or otherwise, and it would be useless to try to interfere with him.

The Richmond papers of last week were enthusiastic over the number of northern millionaires visiting their city at the same time. They spoke with special pride of the presence of John Jacob Astor; John A. Stewart, of the United States Trust Co.; George Bliss, of Morton, Bliss & Co.; C. H. Coster, of Drexel, Morgan & Co.; J. C. Brown, of Brown Brothers & Co.; and others; and congratulated the state of Virginia that she had at length succeeded in attracting the serious notice of the moneyed men of the country.

The reason why all these rich men went to Richmond was very simple. They believed that a tide of settlement and manufacturing enterprise was about to flow towards the line of the Chesapeake and Ohio railway, and they wanted to get ready for it. So they met in Richmond by agreement, and were going thence in a body, along the line of the railroad, to inspect and buy up, if they thought it would pay, a large area of mineral and other lands.

If a piratical fleet should make its appearance in the James river some fine day and exact from the citizens of Richmond security that they would hereafter and forever pay to the pirate chiefs, their heirs and assigns, a constantly increasing yearly tribute, as a reward for the mere privilege of being allowed to attend to their own business unmolested—if anything of this kind should happen, the Richmond journalists would be in a pretty state of distress and lamentation. But when a crowd of men come down there and simply secure the right of forcing other men to pay them tribute for the privilege of mining iron or digging coal, why that's a very different matter, and the Richmond journalists congratulate the people and prophesy great things. And yet Thomas Jefferson was a Virginian.

The English coal miners seem to have won all along the line, and that without any serious disturbance of production. They demanded an increase of ten per cent in their wages and they got it.

This was in England, where trade, if not absolutely free, is at least far less restricted than here in the United States. In this country, where industry wears fetters for its own protection, the last strike among the coal miners was against a reduction of wages. And the strike was unsuccessful.

The reason why the English mine operators yielded is worth noticing. It was because the moment they ceased producing coal, began pouring in from Belgium and from Germany. In this country, when the miners refuse to work, the operators simply put up the price of coal and make the public pay the expense of the strike. It does not go in free trade England. When coal goes up in price there the operators must either produce coal or allow foreigners to take possession of the market.

It is pleasing to note, too, that the spinners in the Dundee jute mills have secured an advance of five per cent in wages. The workers in American jute mills are being laid off, and getting no wages whatever. But then the jute industry in this country is protected. It makes a heap of difference, that protection.

There is one thing worth noting about the elevated railway condemnation proceedings; that is, the ease and certainty with which real estate experts estimate the effect of the roads on the value of adjacent lands. Expert George L. Curtis, testifying as to the damage done to the Renwick property by the spur of the elevated road running through Forty-second street to the Grand Central depot, said:

The Renwick land has a fronting of 83½ feet. It is worth \$13,000 a lot, or a total of about \$45,000. The property on the land is worth possibly \$30,000 in addition. Had not the elevated railroad been built the land would be a worth a total of about \$75,000, and the buildings would be of a greater rental value than they are now, though their worth would probably be the same.

And yet men like Edward Atkinson affect to doubt the possibility of determining, for purposes of taxation, the value of bare land, irrespective of improvements.

The annual dinner of the New York chamber of commerce on Tuesday evening last was enlivened by a speech from General W. T. Sherman. It was not, and clearly was not intended to be, a great speech. There was no effort of oratory, no spreading of the eagle's wings, no soaring into the dizzy region of metaphor. It was a plain straightforward talk, in which the speaker told his honest thought, in matter of fact language.

And for this very reason it is worth a word or two of comment. For General Sherman, apart from his military pre-eminence, is a fair representative of the average citizen of intelligence, and whatever confusions of thought may appear in his remarks are typical, we may be very sure, of similar confusions in the minds of thousands of other men.

The general began by expressing the pleasure it gave him "to come into the presence of the merchants of New York." "All who profess to love their country,"

said the general, "honor the merchants who take in the whole universe, who bring here the things we need, and send forth the things we can dispense with."

Then he went on to sing the praises of our country. "It is," he said, "a big piece of territory."

The country which we possess to-day, every foot of which was acquired by us as honest a title as any gentleman has to his estate, is a land to be proud of. We have now 3,700,000 square miles of land, and that is all we need. While Belgium has 400 and England 200 or 300, we have less than ten people to the square mile. You could take the people of these thickly settled European countries and put them in the Mississippi valley, where they could all be supported with no perceptible drain on its resources. The capabilities of the country are almost unlimited. Three hundred million people could easily live on the land the United States now possesses. Out of this land come the fruit and flowers which give us life and prosperity.

And then the good old man went on to say how glad he was that Harrison had been elected.

It is only when you pull a speech like this to pieces that you begin to see how utterly in congruous are its different parts. Think of congratulating New York merchants on their trade with foreign countries, and in the next breath rejoicing that the policy of the government is to be the extinction of that trade. Think of boasting of the capacity of the country to support without difficulty five times its present population, and then sympathizing with the party whose constant cry is that this country is so poor, and its inhabitants so weak and uneventful, that there is really danger of everybody starving.

General Sherman is not to be blamed for all this. He has simply never thought of these matters. And there are tens of thousands of men just like him. But the time is coming when both he and they will have to think.

Certain fish dealers of the east have set up a little protective dodge of their own with marked success. About three years ago an enterprising Yankee shipped a cargo of halibut from Tacoma, Washington territory, which arrived here in good condition and was sold away below the prevailing prices. That was good for people who wanted to eat fish; but the associated dealers didn't like it, and in Gloucester a public meeting was held to take measures for the protection of Gloucester's infant halibut industry. If Tacoma had been in England or Canada, or any other country of pauper labor, it would have been an easy matter to put high tariffs on halibut in the interest of American workmen. But Tacoma wasn't in England. It was in the United States, and in point of pauper labor no worse off than Gloucester or New York.

Indeed, it was a place of pretty high wages, as wages go, and yet it was shipping cheap fish to us. This was so perilous to the industries of the east that a committee was sent from Gloucester to Tacoma to prevent further shipments. How the committee did it is not yet known, but certain it is they have succeeded in protecting us against the low priced halibut of Tacoma, and, accordingly, for the benefit of the eastern halibut trust, we are paying dear for our fish.

There is in the United States navy a lieutenant of the name of Jacob J. Hunter, whose pernicious activity as a free trader should be vigorously denounced.

It has been customary for many years to dump garbage in the channel of New York harbor. To any but a free trader whose intellect has been distorted by studying maxims instead of markets, the beneficent effect of this custom must be apparent. Its tendency is to interfere with the free entry into our port of ocean steamers loaded with the products of foreign pauper labor, and to compel transportation in the lower bay and the employment of domestic barges for harbor navigation. The amount of extra work this would make and its effect in raising wages are incalculable; and if it were adopted in every port in the country we should enjoy an era of prosperity hitherto unknown. Then we could with safety abolish the tariff and thereby rid ourselves of the surplus for the extra cost of imports entailed by transportation would be large enough to enable our employers to compete with the employers of cheaper men.

And it would have at least one advantage over tariffs as a means of encouraging home industry. An accumulation of garbage in the harbor would strongly tend to breed disease, from the cure of which physicians and druggists might reasonably expect to profit. The tariff ignores both these classes of American laborers; but garbage in the channel, while amply protecting all the other classes, would not pass over the interests of these two, which may justly be said to be among the most worthy.

That this laudable custom of dumping garbage in the channel has not yet obstructed navigation or bred disease sufficiently to produce the benefits to American industry, of which it is capable, is because the federal government, under an administration which, if not inoculated with free trade heresies, is at least indifferent to protection, has cleaned out the garbage almost as fast as it was dumped.

And now this free trader, Lieutenant Hunter, has not only issued a proclamation forbidding dumping in the harbor, but he is organizing a kind of harbor naval squadron to see that his proclamation is obeyed. To be sure, the time within which he can do harm is short, for a protection administration is to be inaugurated on March 4 next; but his conduct, though its free trade tendency harmonizes with our own views, is a wanton rebuke to the declared policy of the president-elect, and therefore, to say the least, in exceedingly bad taste.

## The Campaign Fund.

Contributions to the campaign STANDARD fund not previously acknowledged have been:

J. M. Carroll, New York, \$5.00  
Charles F. Smith, Colton, \$5.00  
Thos. W. Roberts, New York, \$5.00

Previously acknowledged, \$3,599.50  
Total to date, \$3,750.00

## The Tide of Poverty.

The tide of poverty is rising! stealthily it creeps along.  
With no fury or commotion:  
Silent as a summer ocean breeze,  
Upward steals this deadly wrong.  
As men look for staid and tumult when a blight invades the land,  
Little reek they in their revel  
Of a dread relentless evil.  
That no cunning can withstand.  
Hear their prate of power and riches and a progress great and high,  
When a peasantry is making,  
And a favored guild is taking  
Freedom's blood that she may die.

The tide of poverty is rising! there are watchers on the height  
Who are signaling the nation  
Of the coming devastation.  
Yet but few can see the light:  
Some are wrapped in schemes and passion and cold reason holds them not;  
Some are myopic and not observers,  
Dopes, or partisan time servers,  
Well contented with the lot  
That necks them underlings or leaders, moral bawds and panders,  
Like those old masters of derision,  
"Out with Noah and his vision,"  
Gibe they, careless of the curse.

The tide of poverty is rising; and a vague unrestfulness  
Seizes those who stand the highest  
To this crawling fog, where highest  
Climbs the doom they dimly guess.  
All below is dark with falsehood; filth and famine tread hold sway;  
Ill paid labor's degradation,  
Ignorance and profligation,  
Crime and sorrow, swarm the day.  
Hope's phantasm, that a moment o'er the horizon's mounting beam,  
Only to depress and sadden  
Stricken souls that nought shall gladden  
Till their light of life grow dim.

The tide of poverty is rising; and the yelping demagogue,  
Quick in all and knave by nature,  
Hoots in every legislature.  
Each fair measure to begot;  
Winking at the rich oppressor, super-sanctimonious,  
All of self his honey savors  
As he proffers faction-favors,  
Trivial spoils to Cerberus.  
How he schemes to break the virtue of the mass by treachery,  
Pitting brother against brother;  
Stripping one to bribe another;  
Such a price of hell is he.

The tide of poverty is rising! Shall it upward creep until  
All the gifts of the Creator  
In the clutch of one dictator  
Leave his greed insatiate still!

Shall one mortal's whims and passions sway  
The world as sways a reed?  
No! The struggle is before us;  
Liberty her standard o'er us  
Waves, and honors us and enfolds us  
To the end.

High Omnipotence uphold us and behold us  
To the end;  
Love of truth and justice fires us,  
Impulse of the right inspires us,  
And we battle to the end.

WILLIAM WALSTEIN GORDAK.  
North Scituate, Mass.

## THE IMPULSE THAT BUSINESS FEELS.

"Even now business feels the impulse which was imparted to it by the election," says the *Pittsburgh Times*.

One of the businesses which has felt the impulse is carpet manufacturing. The carpet manufacturers have put their heads together and agreed (among themselves) to add to the general prosperity of the country by simply putting up the price on all grades of carpets. But notwithstanding the protectionist theory, the six hundred men "laid off" by Higgins will not share in these protection benefits.

The coal business has also felt the impulse in ways that are peculiar. A dispatch from Pottsville, Pa., of November 17 says:

Work has been commenced on the four new collieries that the Philadelphia and Reading company will open, which will increase the annual production of coal by at least 1,000,000 tons. The new collieries will cost about \$750,000, and will be completed and in working order toward the end of next year.

A liberal profit of twenty per cent on that investment would amount to \$150,000.

The present value of the million tons of coal to be mined (the price of which was recently increased about twenty per cent) would be about \$6,000,000.

The amount that would be paid the miner for digging that quantity of coal at forty-nine cents per ton would be \$490,000.

The little balance of \$5,500,000 unaccounted for in the above items, goes, of course, to increase the general wealth of the country.

The same dispatch quoted above also informs us that the Philadelphia and Reading coal and iron company will continue mining on full time until the end of the month, when the collieries will be put on three-fourths time, the object being to limit the output of coal and keep up prices. Other collieries are expected to follow the example.

It may appear to some folks that an increase of the price of coal meant a scarcity of that article and that the opening of new collieries indicates lack of capacity to supply the demand and consequently there should be more work and better wages for the miner. But the facts show that all this means that the miners are to be put on three-fourths time, three-fourths pay and three-fourths of a very poor living.

P. V. JONES.

## The Ohio Plan of Campaign.

The following address, signed by the chairman of the Ohio single tax league, should receive the attention of every single tax man in that state, and should call forth his best efforts in behalf of the cause:

OHIO SINGLE TAX LEAGUE.  
State Executive Board.  
C. S. Walker, Chairman, foot Evans st., Cincinnati, O.;  
L. E. Sien, a Vice-Chairman, Cleveland, O.; W. W. Kile, Treasurer, 53 E. 2nd st., Dayton, O.; Edw. L. Hyman, Secretary, room 3, 30 E. 2nd st., High st., Columbus, O.

CINCINNATI, Ohio, Nov. 16, 1888.

To single tax men of Ohio: It is earnestly requested that our friends throughout the state put themselves in correspondence with the state committee of the single tax league. We desire to make the strongest possible appeal to our general assembly during the next session, by presenting petitions, by having Henry George address the legislature, and by other means that may appear desirable. We ask that wherever it is possible you organize for the purpose of circulating peti-

tions and collecting funds to forward this work. With the number of men in this state who are devoted to our cause, a subscription, even of the most reasonable amount, from each one, would place the state organization on such a sound financial basis that we could render most effective service.

It lies now in the power of the great state of Ohio to lead the Union in this grandest of reforms. Let us not fail through lack of energy and enthusiasm in her behalf, which it is in our grasp. C. S. WALKER, chairman.  
ED. L. HYMAN, secretary.

## Work for Ohio Men.

COLUMBUS, Ohio, Nov. 17.—The situation in Ohio will continue to grow more interesting every day now. Since the defeat of Cleveland the democrats have become something more than a mere tariff reformers, and they will in time be something more than free traders. They will need to become more progressive in this state.

In accordance with the present constitution of Ohio a constitutional convention should be called in 1890, but it is to be feared that the vested interests will try to prevent it. Efforts were made in this direction during the last session of the legislature. The great expense involved by such a convention was argued against it. It was a specious objection. It was suggested that carefully devised amendments be put to popular vote. Thereby the revision might be defeated. A committee was appointed to investigate the necessity for such revision and to report measures to the legislature.

This committee has been in communication with the committee on revision of our tax laws which meets in Columbus from November 19th to the 24th. The report which these committees prepare will be the commencement of a heated discussion which, beginning in the legislative halls, will be carried into the press and upon the platform. It will arouse as much thought as our recent campaign. The prospect of it is like the distant scent of battle to Ohio single tax men. We will be prepared to support the men who accept the single tax.

And we are enthusiastic in this state. All the correspondence which comes into my hands breathes fire. We are more determined than ever before. I would suggest that single tax men in places I am not in communication with send the address to me. We want to know all our friends. It is necessary that we concentrate our efforts. A state board can do more effective work than isolated clubs.

Owing to the sudden departure of Mr. George, his appearance before the tax investigating committee has been deferred. Arrangements will probably be made with the committee to receive his testimony during the early part of January. The legislature convenes January 8, and this will prove a most opportune time. Senator Massie, chairman of this committee, expresses his approval of the change of date. EDW. L. HYMAN, Secretary Single Tax League.

## PERSONAL.

The *London Democrat* says: "Lord Hobhouse's year of office as president of the committee for the taxation of ground rents and values" having expired, the executive committee have unanimously resolved, on the motion of his lordship, seconded by Mr. J. F. Tor, to request Mr. William Saunders to accept the nomination for president for the forthcoming year.

Michael Flurscheim, the editor of *Deutsch Land* and leader of the land restoration movement in Germany, is about to turn his business into a limited company, in order to "retire" and devote the rest of his life to land reform. The business referred to is his extensive iron foundry at Gaggenau near Baden Baden, where he has latterly employed some 1,000 hands.

W. J. Atkinson of Philadelphia writes that the single tax men there have their spurs strapped on for another campaign. Their first important move will be in the direction of the Australian system of voting.

B. F. Healy is now publishing a bright, well written weekly paper at Port Jervis, N. Y. Its name is the *Deer Park Citizen*, and its motto, "Tax Land Values Only." In the current issue Mr. Healy has a four-column article on "Herbert Spencer and Henry George" in which he recounts in a very interesting manner his own conversion to the doctrine of the single tax.

The rising generation of single tax men are coming to the front. One of the tersest and most convincing presentations of the tariff question in the late campaign was prepared by Fred. Moore of Roselle, N. J., and read before the tariff reform club of that place. Master Fred is a son of Marshall G. Moore, who has long been an earnest and efficient supporter of the single tax doctrine.

## For a Single Tax Club House.

NEW YORK, Nov. 20.—Wesley George, as we love to style ourselves, have now carried on or participated in the carrying on of three campaigns—all defeats. Many of those who have gone through those campaigns and are tired and trusty desire to form a more permanent organization and to get a place wherein the records of the movement may be stored away in time, where the history of the war for industrial freedom in New York may be kept. This headquarters should be in my opinion purchased by the men who believe as we do.

Profit can be done, and with a certainty of profit to every one engaged in the enterprise. It is proposed to make a building of \$10,000; each share to represent one dollar, and the shares purchased to depend upon the life of the person buying, and to purchase in the name of the society this formed a building within a short distance of Cooper square, which should not cost over \$10,000 cash. Such a building can be bought by an outlay of \$10,000, the rest to stand on mortgage to be gradually wiped out by the sinking fund. Now, if there are any others who think as I do that such a plan is feasible, and differ possibly merely on a matter of detail, can we not get together within the near future and talk over some such plan?

The coming fight are not at all likely to be less bitter and they might easily become much more bitter. Already we have much literature fit for distribution, and we need every day more and more a rallying point, a home, a place where at all times our men can find a welcome and whence they can carry away for distribution much of the literature we now send. Lastly, as time runs on and our faith spreads, strangers of our kind and kindred to New York want a place where they can come and see the men who "fight with Omaha" in New York. And I submit that while the Standard office is as ready as a steam engine to do anything for the cause, and probably always will be the Mecca toward which their steps will trend, yet it is not a place where they can be shown the kind of attentions they deserve, and meet all the people they wish to meet, as strangers are necessarily out of place there and must feel so despite the best efforts and kindness of the persons they may meet.

I am only one out of a large number who think of this favorably, and as one expression of opinion send it to you. I take of course, defeat or no defeat, we are in the struggle till we win our desire, or die in the attempt.  
A. J. STREETS,  
83 Nassau street.

## SOCIETY NOTES.

The weddings of the week have been in the highest degree interesting. Among the most prominent was that of Miss Mary Brady, daughter of Judge Brady, in Trinity chapel on Thursday. Apart and distinct from all else, even the most brilliant group of bridesmaids, Miss Brady stood out the most peerless and exquisite of white robed maidens. Satin and lace lent their aid of course, and diamonds sparkled in her hair and her throat, and her radiant beauty shone through it all, and called forth a murmur of admiration as she walked up the broad aisle of the church. The bridal offerings were exceptionally handsome. Relatives and friends lavished silver and jeweled down the bride and the bridegroom must have ransacked the east to find pearls of such remarkable size, purity and symmetry as those that form the pendant to his wedding gift.

A young German named Charles Eich who was to have been married last Sunday committed suicide an hour or two before the time fixed for the ceremony, in the apartments he had engaged for himself and his bride. Want of money was the only reason for his action that his friends can assign, and their opinion is confirmed by the fact that he had been clothed, in which he said "I did not want to do this, but I am short of money. I do it in full possession of my senses."

Miss Louise Bouvier Drexel and her two sisters, Miss Lizzie Drexel and Miss Kate Drexel, are the three wealthiest young unmarried ladies in the United States. The value of their property is estimated at \$1,500,000 to \$2,000,000. They are the daughters of their father, after the payment of about \$1,500,000 to Roman Catholic charities, was something over \$13,000,000. It is so invested as to bring each of them in an income of over \$50,000 a year.

Of the total number of suicides committed in France during the year 1887, 333 were attributed to poverty, 303 to pecuniary difficulties and 100 to the loss of employment.

Black underwear, black sheets, pillow slips, and a black coverlet or bed spread are the fads of the moment among New York women of capricious tastes who follow eccentric fashions. These black garments and bed furnishings must all be of the finest black silk or satin, and the coverlet, in black silk or satin, must be edged with black Chantilly or fine Spanish lace.

Mrs. Kelly, a widow, who lived with two of her children at No. 25 Kingsland avenue, Brooklyn, was found in a sick and destitute condition last Thursday at her residence. She was removed to St. Catherine's hospital and her children were cared for by friends.

The artists who make handsome dinner menus exact to grow more and more painted ones on parchment and satin are in favor. Some of the newest have a miniature of the hostess painted in the center, or a pretty landscape view. Etched menus are also in fashion, and people who can afford it have the work of noted artists.

An eighty year old, white haired woman was arrested for pickpocketing the pocket of another woman at an auction sale, and the police authorities say that for sixty years of her life she has alternately passed the time in jail or lived by thieving. As she had no friends or relatives living who would support her, she had the idea of going to the poor house or running the risk of getting sent to prison, and she preferred the latter.

The opera box of the duchess of Marlborough at the New York opera house has just been sold for \$25,000.

Neil Nelson, who has been writing up the sweating shops and factories of New York for the *World*, told in last Sunday's paper of her experience in a laundry establishment. She had to try at several places before she found one where a new hand was wanted, and in her search talked with a large number of the girls employed, not one of whom was making more than 50 cents a day. The average wages per week being about \$3.75. At G. W. Alexander's she found that the "average" was 50 cents a day, and that the "best" was 60 cents. One girl got home about ten o'clock, and her mother made her bring "three pieces of bread" for her supper for fear she "would get sick by going so long without food." An expert worker, whose constant stooping over the table had rounded her shoulders, had been there seven years. In the busy season she made \$3.75 a day. Her fingers were worn and blistered, and now and then she had to stop a moment because the work hurt her. New girls of two, four and six months' experience shaved away for \$3 a week, and old hands for from \$4 to \$6.

For ladies who wish light footwear there are boots of kid, morocco with heavy soles and pointed tips of patent leather. Slippers for house wear and evening wear are made in all shades of suede kid to match the color of evening costumes. A tiny buckle of steel or silver or a large pompous buckle of old leather is sometimes used. Venetian slippers for a snug lining and a rolled top trimmed with black velvet. The red morocco toilet slippers and the kid and leather slippers, with pointed Chinese toes, are very fashionable for house wear.

Louis Kautzsch, of 24 Suffolk street, was held for trial at the Essex market police court last week on a charge of leaving his four children destitute and without food or clothing. The agents of the society for the prevention of cruelty to children suspected that he was starving them for the purpose of exciting pity and getting donations, and this turned out to be the case. He had done the same thing in Chicago. The children, who had been reduced almost to skeletons by hunger and privation, were taken in charge by the society.

## In a Colorado Town.

CANON CITY, Col.—Prominent politicians of both parties in Colorado predict that the next name will be taken from the list, and that name or another there will be a landlord party.

Professor Robbins of Denver recently visited us. He has been doing some good work during the canvass for talbot and tax reform. We will soon have a local club of at least twenty good workers, and we hope to have some legislation this winter in favor of ballot reform.

It would suggest a national organization under some name that we may adhere to and make uniform through all the states. Let it be "free soil comrades."

FRANK P. BLAKE, M. D.

## An Enterprising Crow.

Atlanta Journal.  
Farmer Crowder had finished planting his corn, but he was not satisfied. He knew the crows were waiting their bills to pull up the corn as soon as it appeared above the surface.

"I tell you how to get rid of the crows," said Ben Hur Stokes.

"Get you a gallon of mean whiskey and soak some corn in it till it gets full of the stuff and then scatter it broadcast in the field."

"Then you can catch 'em and pull their heads off. That beats plan or shorn."

In a few days Farmer Crowder met his friend Stokes.

## ONE OF THE MANY.

Curtis Foster is Toronto Star.

They had been married for rather more than a year—Jim Carroll and his pretty little wife—and their baby daughter was two months old.

He was a fine fellow, was Jim—well set up, and good to look at; chivalrous, upright and honest as the day; but though he came of a good old stock—of which he was the last—he was only a clerk in a London architect's office, with a miserable salary of £120 a year, which, of course, he might lose with his situation any day. It will be clear, I hope, to the nearest understanding that under these circumstances he had not the smallest right to think of matrimony. So when he had the audacity to propose for Marjory Linton—niece and ward of the pompous and wealthy old Joseph Linton of Manchester—that gentleman gave him a very short shrift, and promptly showed him the door. And when, a month later, pretty, independent Marjory ran away with this same handsome, impetuous Jim Carroll, her irate uncle—to use his own expressions—"washed his hands of her, and closed his doors against her and her husband for ever." At this terrible sentence Marjory did not trouble herself very much; nor did her husband suffer it to affect his peace of mind. He was too happy to care whether all the rich old men in Europe closed their doors against him—or otherwise.

They lived in a tiny house in a red brick, pointed gabled terrace at Chancerywell, and they had enough to do to pay the rent and to make ends meet generally, especially after the baby came; but they loved each other passionately, and that made things easier. Marjory was the most sunny-hearted and hopeful of little women, and she was quite sure that some day Dorton & Cox—awakening to a sense of Jim's abilities—would take him into partnership and make his fortune.

But, alas! for Marjory's dreams, on the particular evening on which this story opens, Carroll was wending his way home, wretchedly enough, for Dorton & Cox, having had heavy losses lately, were reducing their staff of clerks, and among those dismissed to-day was James Carroll. Jim felt stunned and bewildered, for situations were not as plentiful as blackberries in London in 1881 any more than they are now.

"O Jim, how late you are!" cried little Mrs. Carroll, as she flew to the door to meet her husband. "I thought you were never coming! I had to put baby to bed, at last."

"Had you, dear?" he answered absently, as he followed her into the small but cosy sitting room.

He looked depressed and out of sorts. Marjory thought. Perhaps he had one of his bad headaches. But like a wise little wife she asked no questions, only poured out his tea and gave him his slippers. He did not eat anything, she noticed, but sent up his cup to be filled again and again, draining it each time feverishly.

He was very silent, too.

"Is anything the matter, dear?" his wife said at last in anxious tones.

"Yes, Marjory," he answered with an effort. Then, after a pause, he told her.

For a moment her sunny face was clouded; this was a contingency which they had never contemplated. Then she said bravely:

"Never mind, Jim. It will not be difficult for you to get another situation. I see scores of advertisements in the papers every day."

But Carroll was not so sanguine. He was of a more gloomy temperament than Marjory, and would not be cheered, not even when baby woke up, and smiled and cooed in his face, as was her wont.

"You see, Jim," said Marjory cheerily, "we have still a good part left of your last salary. It is not quarter-day yet for a good while; and we can economize in little things. We might let Ann go" (Ann was the small maid-of-all-work; she was really getting very careless; she broke three plates yesterday. If I have a charwoman to come in on Saturdays, I can easily manage the work myself. Baby is so good, and requires so little attention."

Jim put his arm round her as she knelt beside him.

"Dear little woman," he said, "I couldn't let you do that. Not yet, at least."

They studied the paper diligently day after day. Carroll answered innumerable advertisements, both by post and personally, but in vain; though he spent an alarming sum in postage stamps, and returned night after night, weary, heart-sick and footsore.

The days went on; quarter-day drew near, and passed; and the Carrolls' little store of money melted away. For the baby had been ill; and several tradesmen's bills, small but imperative, had had to be paid. The weather was oppressively hot and enervating and Marjory's little face began to look pinched and worn; for the baby was peevish and fretful, requiring constant nursing and attention; and the servant had been dismissed some time ago.

Another week passed. Jim felt almost desperate, for he could obtain no employment; and to make matters worse the baby fell ill again. It seemed a kind of wasting, nameless illness. She cried and wailed night and day, and grew almost hourly more shadowy-looking. The doctor whom Carroll at last called in shook his head, asked a few questions, advised change of air and ordered the young mother to take "plenty of nourishing food." With a view to furthering the latter object—change of air being out of the question—Jim pawned his watch and chain. Poor fellow, he felt shamefaced and embarrassed enough as he took the ticket and buttoned his coat over his now chainless waistcoat. But the money so obtained kept them going for some little time; and Carroll, meanwhile, did not for a day relax his efforts to obtain employment. He searched with anxious diligence in each evening's paper the column devoted to "vacant situations," and answered various advertisements which seemed singularly suitable. But those who have studied that column—not for amusement or curiosity, but for dear life

—know that of these advertisements only too many are simply swindles, and that the comparatively few which are bona-fide are speedily secured by those who have either the influence or the experience which Jim Carroll had not. He set off every morning for the city, neglected no opportunity, left no stone unturned, but in vain.

He used to "dine in town," he told his wife; but in reality nothing passed his lips from the time he went out in the morning until he returned, unsuccessful, hopeless, and exhausted, in the evening. Marjory never guessed this, and she herself did without absolute necessities, silently, and with uncomplaining cheerfulness. It was a terrible time for them both; perhaps it was the hardest on Jim, for he had not Marjory's elastic, hopeful nature, her happy, almost childlike faith and trust that things would be better by and by. He felt, too, that he had brought her to this life of poverty and privation, which he seemed so powerless to avert; and as he thought of the future—grim and black and uncheered by any gleam of hope—his heart sickened and died within him.

In September they moved out of their pretty home to a very small and dingy cottage which stood alone, a little way back from a side street, behind a timber yard. It was not an attractive dwelling, but it was very cheap; and the rent of their former house was now out of the question. To defray the various inevitable expenses connected with the removal, and one or two other necessary outlays, they sold some of their furniture, and a few other things besides.

Marjory's jewelry had all gone long ago.

One day, in walking westward along Fleet street, Carroll met an old fellow clerk, by name Archie Lyle.

"Hallo, Carroll!" Lyle exclaimed, grasping the former's hand heartily, and turning to walk alongside. "How are you? Haven't seen you for months of Sundays. Why, you look down in the mouth, old man! What's up, eh?"

"Nothing particular," replied the other, coldly enough. "except that I have been out of a situation since. I left Dorton & Cox. Inspecting public buildings, when you have a wife and child to keep on nothing, is not a particularly exhilarating or lively occupation," he continued bitterly.

"By Jove, no!" said the other in serious tones. He was a good-natured, easy-going fellow, who had rarely known the want of a five-pound note, and who, as a rule, had only to sit still and let things come to him.

"I'm awfully sorry, old fellow," he went on awkwardly. "You know I'll never forget the lift you gave me two years ago. I'm awfully sorry," he continued, with less than good nature. "Upon my soul I don't know when I was so hard up as I am this month. Until I get my next—"

"Confound you! What are you talking about?" interrupted Carroll laughingly. "Do you take me for a beggar?"

Lyle murmured some confused apology. "I don't want your money," Carroll went on in brusque tones. "Can you tell me of anything I can get to do? Anything. I am not proud," with a short laugh.

The other cogitated, then shook his head.

"By the way," he said suddenly, when they had crossed several streets in comparative silence, "you are a good draughtsman, are you not? You have a good idea of plans and that?"

"I ought to have," returned Carroll dryly, "seeing I have been a clerk in an architect's office for the last three years."

"Ah, yes, to be sure. Well, I know designs are wanted for a new hospital somewhere near Manchester. The premium is a hundred pounds. Now—"

"For God's sake, tell me," interrupted the other eagerly and hoarsely, "do you think I have any chance?"

"Well," said Lyle, "I was going to have a try. My father has an idea I ought to distinguish myself in that line; but I'm an awful dunder on plans—always was. So if you care to go in for it—it's a goodish premium—it might be worth your while. And, by the way, Carroll, don't sign your own name, for I believe old Linton, your wife's uncle, is to be one of the judges. He is still no end down on you, and—"

"Oh, anything you like, and send it under cover to me. You can trust me not to father it," he added, laughing. "I'll send you all the particulars to-morrow, and let you know whenever the thing's decided."

"Lyle, I cannot thank you sufficiently," said Carroll unsteadily, "though I fear there is very little chance for me."

"Pooh!" replied the other in airy tones, "you've as good a chance as any of the rest."

"How soon must it go in?" asked Carroll, feverishly.

"Ah, let's see. I think its a fortnight, but I'll let you know."

They were in the Strand by this time, and Lyle stopped at the nearest restaurant, for it was past two o'clock.

Carroll declined his companion's invitation to accompany him, and with a grasp of the hand the two men parted. Jim turned down a side street, and from thence through the Embankment gardens to the river. He did not feel very hopeful, for when the body is weak the spirit is apt to be weak too; and big, stalwart looking fellow as he was, Carroll had but little stamina; and the past months of ceaseless anxiety—and lately of almost starvation—had told on him terribly. He walked slowly along the embankment, and across Westminster bridge, and so home.

Marjory met him with her usual cheery smile; but he fancied her sweet face was paler and more worn looking than ever; and the baby's eyes, unnaturally large and bright, seemed to follow him reproachfully. His wife clapped her little hands joyfully when he told her of Lyle's proposal; and she was so merry and hopeful all the evening that Jim felt his spirits rise. She prepared a nice little supper for him, too; and Jim did not notice, for a wonder, that one or two of their cherished books had disappeared. Baby was very good to-night, she did not cry at all; and the evening was the most cheerful they had passed for some time.

In the evening of the following day

came the promised letter from Lyle; and as soon as it was light the next morning Carroll began his task. He worked hard and patiently, but he suffered terribly from nervous headaches; he took even less food than usual; and the baby's constant monotonous wail made him sometimes feel half crazy.

At last the drawing was finished. Carroll signed it "Isola, care of A. Lyle, esq.," as his friend had suggested. Marjory thought it beautiful, and had no doubt of its being successful; but Carroll was not so sanguine. However, he sent it off at once; and Marjory already began to calculate how long a time must elapse before its fate would be decided.

It was weary waiting, though; and to Jim—say, and to Marjory too—the once dreaded pawnshop became sadly and painfully familiar. Meanwhile their baby was slowly but surely fading away from them.

One afternoon Carroll returned somewhat earlier than usual from the city, whither he had been in answer to some boring will-o'-the-wisp advertisement. It was a dull, wet day; and as he turned up the narrow street which led to his home, his heart sank with a lurid, undefined dread. They had been up with the baby all night, but she had seemed better and brighter when Jim left in the morning.

Marjory met him, as she always did, at the door. At a glance his fears were quickened.

"What is it?" he said hastily. "The child—is she worse?"

"Jim," she answered, looking up at him with dry, grief-stricken eyes, "Jim—baby is dead!"

He followed her silently to the room where the tiny creature, with waxen features so like his own, lay cold and still and smiling.

"When?" he asked in a choked voice.

"Just three hours ago," she replied monotonously.

Carroll stood looking down on all that was left to him of his baby daughter and smoothed the short, fluffy hair with a strange, wistful look in his dark, sunken eyes.

"Poor little thing!" he said, sadly and brokenly. "God knows what she is spared!"

There was a silence, for Marjory could not speak. The rain dripped on the window sill outside; the wind shook the casement and moaned in the chimney. Then, with a quick, dry sob, Carroll took his wife in his arms and they mingled their tears together.

A few days more passed and the baby was buried. Even that was a struggle to the poverty-stricken father and mother. It was wonderful how they missed the tiny thing—theirs for so short a time—their funny, winning baby ways, and even her fretful, peevish cries. To Marjory, during the long hours when her husband was absent, the house seemed horribly, unnaturally still and desolate.

The weather was wet and chilly, and Jim caught a cold which ended in a sharp attack of bronchitis, and left him more spiritless and haggard looking than ever. So the autumn dragged on.

At last—one dreadful day, when even Marjory broke down and when Jim looked so weak and ill as he set off on his weary and fruitless quest for work that it almost broke his wife's heart to see him—at last, privately, and with many pangs of humbled pride, Mrs. Carroll wrote her uncle. She did not tell her husband, for she knew that if she did nothing would induce him to let the letter go. The answer came soon enough; and it so chanced that Carroll met the postman at the door and took the letter from him. He gave it to his wife, and waited while she read it; then, seeing her face brighten, took it from her trembling hands, and with compressed lips glanced at the few words it contained. It was short and to the point:

DEAR MARJORY—If you like to leave your husband, I will take you back to your old home. On no other terms and in no other way will I help you. You took your own way; and now you may take the consequences.

JOSEPH LINTON.

It said much for Jim's utter heartlessness that he did not even show any displeasure at Marjory's having written. He only said gently:

"You should not have asked him, dear."

But the passionate little Marjory tore up the letter and threw it into the fire-place.

It haunted Jim, though. If it were not for him, he thought wretchedly, his Marjory would be cared for again as she ought to be. He knew her too well to think she would leave him. No word had come of his drawing; he had almost given up hope; a deadly, horrible depression seemed to have taken possession of him. Every way seemed closed to him—save one.

"Dear," he said one night with an effort—they had been sitting silent for a long time in the dismantled little sitting-room—"would you not like—to go back—to Manchester?"

"What, without you, Jim?" she cried, with incredulous amazement in her tired little voice.

"Yes," very steadily.

"Ah, Jim," tones of keen reproach, "do you want me to go?"

"My darling, you need not ask me that," and Jim's voice shook slightly. "But—it would be better—for you."

"Ah, my dear," she said with an attempt at her old sauciness, "you need not hint; you can't get rid of me. Don't think it!"

Then she suddenly laid her curly head on his knee and began to cry.

"O, Jim," she sobbed, "don't send me away! How can you speak so? You break my heart! Ah, darling, you could not do without me, could you?"

"God forgive me, no," he answered hoarsely. "You are all I have." As he spoke he drew her into his arms, and held her against his breast. She clung to him, sobbing passionately, for a long time.

"Marjory," he said suddenly, "have you had anything to eat to-day? For you ate nothing this morning."

"Yes, dear, of course I have," she answered, sitting up and drying her tears.

"What had you to?"—noting with a pang how wan and weak she looked, and what heavy shadows lay under her sweet brown eyes.

"Oh, all I wanted."

"I know what that means," he said, in low, agitated tones. "Child, you are starving yourself to death! I am killing you—you, my little Marjory, who are dearer to me than my own soul! You are dying before my eyes—as our baby died—and I can do nothing—nothing! O my God, this is torture!" And laying his head down on his arms on the table, he sobbed—a man's heavy, heart-rending sobs, tearless and bitter.

In an instant Marjory's arms were round his neck, her lips resting on his dark, bent head.

"Hush, dear boy, hush!" she said, in her quaint little motherly way. "You are talking nonsense, dear. I haven't the slightest thought of dying, you foolish Jim. Don't, my dear, don't!" she went on imploringly.

But Carroll's self-control seemed to have deserted him utterly; and for a time his agitation was terrible.

Then there was a long silence, broken at last by Marjory's voice in anxious tones—

"You have eaten nothing to-day, Jim, I am quite sure; and you are quite faint and worn out."

"My darling, I could not eat," he answered wearily, raising his head and leaning back in his chair. There were only two chairs in the room now, and very little else.

Marjory's soft brown eyes filled again with tears; but she resolutely winked them away, and said, trying to smile: "We will make up for lost time, and have some supper. Then things will look brighter. I have an idea, do you know, that our luck is going to take a turn."

Jim smiled faintly; his idea pointed in a diametrically opposite direction.

"And therefore," Marjory went on, with a gayety the more touching to Jim because he knew it was assumed for his sake, "we will go out and buy something for supper, my dear Jim. A great fellow like you cannot possibly live on bread and tea—and not much of that—as you have been doing. Now I wonder—looking round the room meditatively—"if there is nothing more we can put away?" (They always called it "putting away.")

Carroll did not speak. He could not just then. Marjory stole softly up stairs to their bedroom and slowly opened a small box which stood there. It contained nothing of much value, seemingly—only a few baby clothes and a tarnished silver rattle, of which latter the tiny bells tinkled merrily as Marjory lifted it. Her tears fell thick and fast as she rubbed the pretty toy with an old glove until it shone quite brightly in the dim candle-light. Then she went down stairs. Jim was still sitting where she had left him, but he turned as she came in, and shivered slightly, for the night was chilly, and a fire was a luxury not to be thought of. She held the rattle out to him silently.

"Oh, Marjory, not that—I can't!" he said hoarsely, fiddling his face in his hands.

"Yes, dear," said the sweet, unsteady little voice. "We—we—" She stopped uncertainly, and to her husband's terror and dismay, fainted suddenly and quietly away in his arms.

The next day Carroll himself wrote to old Joseph Linton. His letter was returned—unopened.

"Post these letters for me, King—will you?" said Archie Lyle, one October forenoon. "I'm off in a tearing hurry to catch a train. Don't forget them, there's a good fellow."

"All right," said the young man addressed; and he put the letters carefully into the breast-pocket of his overcoat.

"Hang it all!" King said to himself the next day. "I've forgotten to post Lyle's letters. However, I don't suppose it matters much. He'll be none the wiser." He dropped them into the first pillar box he came to, and lighting a cigar, sauntered on his way.

On the morning of this same day Carroll and his wife were standing, pale and silent, at the window of their sitting room. They were watching for the postman. They had watched for him unspokenly, feverishly, despairingly, for many days. Soon they heard the sharp rattle on the doors in the distance. He came nearer. He knocked at the door of the house nearest theirs. Then—he passed on!

"O, Jim!" said the little wife despairingly.

Carroll was white to his very lips.

"Never mind, childie," he said, putting his arm round her, and trying to speak steadily.

"Oh, my dear, I can't help it," she sobbed.

There was a long pause; then Marjory said, almost cheerily, "Perhaps if you went to Mr. Lyle, he could tell you, Jim."

"I did go, Marjory, yesterday," he interrupted, quietly, but he has gone from home for a fortnight. If my drawing had been successful, he would have written before he left. Try not to grieve, darling; it can't be helped." Jim went on, with a sickly smile. "We must try something else. I may hear of something to-day."

"Perhaps there will be a letter to-night," said Marjory, with renewed hope, as she bade her husband good-by at the door.

Jim came home about six, looking terribly weary and depressed. He had been unsuccessful—once more.

"No letters yet, dear," said his wife, hastening to answer the unspoken question in his eyes. As she spoke they heard the postman's knock in the distance; it came nearer and died away.

"Perhaps there will be one in the morning," Marjory went on; but her voice faltered.

In the morning! Another long, awful, sleepless night of hoping against hope, of maddening, steadily growing despair! Jim shuddered. He was worn out, physically and mentally; and he felt as though he could not stand the sickening suspense longer. As he looked at his wife, her wan, changed little face, with its pale ghost of a smile, seemed to pierce his heart.

A strange, terrible, determined look settled round his mouth; but Marjory was leaning her curly head against his arm, and did not see his face.

The room was quite dark now, but they were still standing at the window. For a time Carroll was very still. Then he said:

"I am very tired, Marjory darling. I

will lie down for a while. Don't disturb me. I—I didn't sleep last night" (nor for many nights, he might have added).

"But won't you have a cup of tea first, Jim?"

"No, I don't care for any."

"A long sleep will do you good, dear," she said, anxiously and caressingly. "You look dreadful!"

"Yes," he answered, in a strangely quiet voice, "a long sleep will do me good." Then suddenly, "Kiss me, Marjory!"

"Ah, my own dear, disappointed boy!" she cried, throwing her arms round him. He held her to him tightly, and kissed her again and again.

"My darling!" he said hoarsely. "My own darling!"

Then he let her go, and went away. She heard him go up stairs, and his footsteps echo in the room above.

Marjory sat at the window for a long, long time, and watched the stars grow brighter and clearer in the soft dark sky. Somewhere in the distance a street organ was wailing out an old hackneyed waltz tune. It stirred her heart strangely. She remembered dancing that waltz with Jim, so very, very long ago—it seemed long ago, like everything else that was bright and hopeful. Even Marjory's brave little heart was heavy to-night. What would become of them, she wondered. God only knew.

The clock on the neighboring church tower boomed out on the night air; and as the last stroke died away there was a sharp knock at the door. It was the postman. Marjory took the one letter he held out to her, and closing the door, she went back to the sitting room. With trembling fingers she lighted the candle, and examined the envelope eagerly. Yes—it was Mr. Lyle's handwriting! Marjory recognized it without difficulty, for it was a peculiar hand. With a beating heart she stole softly upstairs—she did not take the candle, for fear of waking Jim, should he be asleep—and peeped into the letter room. All was still. In the pale starlight she could just make out the dim outline of his figure on the bed.

"Jim!" she whispered.

No answer. He was evidently asleep.

Ah! It seemed a pity to wake him, she thought; and perhaps, after all, the letter held bad news. She softly laid a shawl over him in the semi-darkness and crept down stairs again.

After looking at the fateful envelope for some time, she slowly opened it. She could not wait; and she knew Jim would not mind. In another moment she uttered a little glad, involuntary cry, and her lips parted in a joyful, but incredulous smile. Could it be possible! Yes, Jim's design had been selected as the best; the premium would be his! And this was not the only good news the letter contained; for Lyle went on to say that he had heard of a vacant appointment, which he thought he could—through his father's influence—secure for Carroll.

Marjory hid her face in her hands; for a moment the revulsion of feeling was almost too much. Then in a passion of tears and thankfulness she fell upon her knees. But she could only say, "Thank God! Thank God!"

An hour passed. The moon was drifting among the stars, and streaming in through the uncurtained window on Marjory's face wet with many tears. The candle had burnt itself out.

Ah, what a joyous waking Jim's would be! Should she lay the letter on his pillow to surprise him when he awoke? Or should she rouse him? Perhaps he was already awake.

She lit a fresh bit of candle, and still holding the precious letter, went up stairs. She laid the candle down just outside the bedroom door, and entered very gently.

How dead! Still the room was!

"Jim!" she said softly.

But Jim did not answer. How soundly he slept!

Marjory came nearer and bent over him in the throbbing darkness. The moon had hidden herself behind one solitary cloud.

"Jim!"—a little louder.

Still that strange, weird hush. A vague fear stirred her heart. She did not even hear him breathe. What if he had fainted!

The moon sailed out again, illuminating part of the room, but leaving the bed in deep shadow.

"Jim, darling," leaning over him and laying her arm across his neck, "a letter has come! It is—" With a sudden sickening terror she stopped and raised herself, for she felt—that her sleeve was wet!

Snatching up the candle she held it over the bed, and by its flickering light she saw—ah, dear heaven, what did she see?

Not her Jim, surely?

A white, dead face—a dark-red stain on the forehead—a ghastly wound—and cold, nerveless fingers, still holding—what!

Ah, cruel Jim!

A long, shuddering cry rang out on the autumn night—wild—agonized—despairing. Again and again it echoed. Then all was still.

In the asylum at S— there is a fair, slender woman, with solemn, child-like eyes and sunny hair.

"Hush!" she says to the doctors every day, with lowered voice and uplifted finger. "Hush! Jim is asleep. I must not wake him. He is so tired, poor Jim! He does not know that the letter has come. You will take me to him, will you not? Not now—but when he wakes!"

The Author of "Robert Elsmere." New York World.

The first book that Mrs. Ward published was for children; the second, appearing in 1884, was "Miss Bretton," which was an elaborate study of a supposititious actress, interest being supplied to Americans by the fact that the noble woman, nobly planned, that Mrs. Ward depicted, had borrowed her temporary soul from the temporary characteristics of Miss Mary Anderson. In 1885 Mrs. Ward's translation, with an introduction, of "Amiel's Journal" appeared, and, with "Robert Elsmere," completes the list.

In the fields of essayism and magazine criticism Mrs. Ward has done more than previously in fiction. Her critical articles show the variety of her tastes, as well as her familiarity with the modern literature of the Latin races. With recent Spanish literature she is thoroughly conversant, and the French

seem to attract her sympathies almost as much as they did those of her uncle, Matthew Arnold. The London Quarterly Review has had two papers by her—one on "Modern Spanish Literature" and another on "Modern Geneva." She has also been a frequent contributor to Macmillan's during the last eight or nine years. One of her early articles, entitled "A Spanish Romanticist," was a review of the life, works and influence of George de Becquer, with a graphic sketch of Spanish politics, which was essential for a right understanding of the subject. This was signed "Mrs. Humphrey Ward." Since then, however, Mrs. Ward's contributions to Macmillan's have been signed "M. W."

A glance at some of these



**STOREKEEPERS AND WAGES.**

In THE STANDARD of November 10, when speaking of Helen Campbell's recent studies of European poverty, I quoted her assertion that the competition of women who are not compelled to work is an evil thing for those who have to depend on their labor for a living, and said:

The author of "Prisoners of Poverty" does not see the contradiction involved in her own increasing condemnation. Why should it be a

The truth is, and my correspondent will see it if he thinks awhile, that the mere making of hoods is only a part of the labor of hood production. The labor of getting them to the people who are to use them has still to be performed. This labor is just as much entitled to reward as is the labor of knitting the hoods. And that the folks who do the knitting are self-denying enough, or charitable enough, or foolish enough to work for

"My friend, the canon here, who is no slouch, didn't exactly catch on when I mentioned this circumstance, but as I explained to him, there is a difference in the climate." Then I proceeded to give 'em the stories I'd loaded on the canon during our interview, which I don't need to repeat here, about the effects of the cold and the way we conducted our elections, etc. Took it all in! I should say they did. When I was telling 'em about our fights with the Indians near Toronto, they got greatly enthused as I illustrated my remarks with shots from my revolver and by slashing up the desk with my bowie knife. When I exhibited a bunch of hair I had got in a hair dresser's store as the scalp of the Indian chief, "Snapping Turtle," slain by my own hand in an encounter on the Don flats, it just capped the climax.

I took out a big plug of tobacco, cut off a chew with the bowie knife and proceeded to tell them about buffalo hunting.

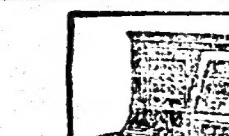
"If you will look on the map you will see in western New York the name 'Buffalo.' That is where the buffalo country is. To follow the monarch of the plains as he scots like thunder, over the land,

Is it true that my doctrine leads to a  
 gas of country or that it indicates  
 equal love for the double-headed eagle,  
 Austria or some prairie red flag? Is  
 language spoken in soberness, or must  
 be justified by the exigencies of a presidential  
 campaign? It certainly adds no faint  
 Faneuil hall.

I can remember when nobler words  
 spoken there from the lips of an English-  
 man in behalf of American freedom—  
 Thompson—suggested contrast to the  
 rampant Englishman now introduced, who  
 to depict the miseries of his fellow-coun-  
 trymen, without sympathy for their  
 wrongs, was not to advocate a policy of  
 which would benefit his suffering com-  
 patriots.

The name of Thomas Paine ought to  
 stand standing in the old "Grange of Lib-  
 erty."

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